

# THE C4 NEWSLETTER

*Colonial Coin Collectors Club*

*1787 Immunis Columbia Copper*



*Spring, 1997*

*Volume 5 Number 1*

**The C4 Newsletter**     Volume 5   Number 1

A quarterly publication of

**The Colonial Coin Collectors Club, Inc.**

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Secretary:     John Lorenzo



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Angel Pietri

*Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to Angel Pietri.*

*Articles, letters for publication, and ads should be sent for the time being to either Angel Pietri or to your Regional Vice President.*

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## **Editor's Notes**

***Angel Pietri***

Welcome to this latest edition of the C4 Newsletter!

As you all know by now, Dan Freidus, for personal reasons had to give up his role of Editor of this newsletter. Whatever his reasons,

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we respect his decision and which him the best in all his endeavors, as well as thank him for his efforts.

We have not made a final decision on the final composition of the editorial staff, but most likely it will be a shared effort, with my main responsibility being to publish the newsletter in a timely fashion. Please send all manuscripts, letters, comments or questions either in a diskette or in a typed sheet to my address. I can copy to or scan it into my word processor.

We need your support! Please send us any material you may have for us. As I have said before, don't be shy or feel intimidated. The input of the whole membership is of value. We will welcome also any questions that you may have about any given issue, and we will make every effort to obtain answers from the many members of the club who have different degrees of expertise or experience in a given field of colonials. As most of you know, I do not shy away from controversy either. Controversial topics and opinions are also welcome. And whatever you do, do not let the fact that your opinion is drastically different from mine or that of any other bother you. It sure will not bother me! And it should not bother anyone else. Diversity of opinion generates discussion, and nothing is healthier in our search for the truth in numismatics.

I would like to remind you all that all members have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 13 lines. Very few of you have used this opportunity so far. Full display ads are available also at the following prices:

	1 issue	2 issues	3 issues	Copy size
1 page	\$50	\$75	\$125	4-1/2"x 7-1/2"
1/2 page	30	45	75	4-1/2"x 3-3/4"
1/4 page	15	25	40	3-1/2"x 1-7/8"

If you want to include a photo with your ad at an additional \$5. Black and white photo needed, size can be adjusted to fit. Please send check with your ad. We can accept camera ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

## **Message from the Third President**

by Dennis Wierzba

As you have read in the last C4 Newsletter, Dan Freidus has resigned as the *sole* editor of our publication. I would like to thank him on behalf of C4 for the many hours of volunteer time and effort he has given selflessly to our club. He has put his creative stamp on our publication, much as Michael Hodder did. Our current plan is to edit by committee until a new editor becomes available. That jack-of-all-trades, Dr. Angel Pietri has assumed the duty as publisher (in addition to being treasurer) Please send to Angel, in hard copy and diskette form, any articles you submit to C4. Any volunteers for part or full time editor should contact me. Your help is needed to keep the C4 newsletter on a quarterly cycle.

The C4 Board has voted to move the 1997 C4 convention to Boston. It will be part of the Bay State Show. November 7-9, 1997. Regional rep, Jim Skalbe, will be the show chairman. He can be reached at Colonial Trading, [REDACTED]. Further convention details are in this issue.

As a reminder, M+G is seeking consignments for our third auction. Please consider consigning two or three higher-valued colonials for our November sale. Nice colonials continue to bring strong prices.

The Colonial Happening was once again a part of the EAC convention in Las Vegas. I was glad to see many of you there. In the "for sale" category, we have C4 medals in silver and copper, hardbound versions of the Barnes Sale, John Hull books and original Richard Picker envelopes (available only to current holders of the coins) See the newsletter for details.



**Dues Reminder; Look for Enclosed Dues  
Notice with Return Envelope in this Issue**



## The Richard Picker Sale

No, we're not turning back the pages of time! Our sale of the late Richard Picker's magnificent collection of colonials took place in October, 1984. Instead, Stack's is making a special offer to all C4 members.

Richard Picker kept his coins inside custom made 2x2 envelopes. On the front of each envelope he typed and wrote the attribution of the coin inside along with other relevant, interesting numismatic information. The back of each envelope was printed with his name, address, and phone number. Richard Picker's envelopes were not sold with his coins. As requested, the envelopes remained at Stack's after the auction was over.

Now, Stack's is at liberty to distribute Richard Picker's annotated coin collection envelopes. Through C4 president Dennis Wierzba, Stack's will make these envelopes available to C4 members. Any C4 member owning a coin that was plated in the Picker sale catalogue may bring the coin (or acceptable proof of its current ownership) to any C4 convention and show it to president Wierzba or other C4 member duly authorized by Dennis. For a \$5.00 donation to the C4 club, the collector can have the original Picker Collection reference envelope that originally housed his coin. All proceeds from sales of the Picker envelopes will go directly toward the C4 club's treasury, as a donation from Stack's. Envelopes for lots that were not plated may also be sold for \$5 each to current owners of the coins, but only at the discretion of elected C4 officers. In any case, proof of current ownership of the original Picker sale coin(s) must be provided at the time. All envelopes left unsold will be returned to Stack's and retained in their archives.

123 WEST 57TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NY 10019-2280  
(212) 582-2580 FAX: (212) 245-5018

## C4 Convention Items for Sale

***Silver Second Convention Medals \$20***

***Copper Second Convention Medals \$5***

***Hardbound Scott Barnes Catalogs \$50***

Add \$1 postage and handling for Medals and \$3 for catalogues. All will be sent uninsured at buyer's risk. If you want insurance, add an appropriate amount. Twelve copies of the hardbound catalogues were ordered at the convention. Please forward your check to me, payable to C4, at the address below:

**Dennis Wierzba**  




### **Third Annual C-4 Convention**

**C-4 goes to Boston: November 6-9, 1997 !!!**

by Jim Skalbe

Our club has recently agreed with Edward J. Aleo (chairman, Bay State Coin Show) to hold our annual show in conjunction with the 33rd year semi-annual Bay State Coin Show.

Ed has run Bay State at least twice each year since the show's inception in 1964. All shows have been run in Boston. Bay State is the oldest commercially run coin show in the USA.

Bay State will provide a complimentary table for C-4 to distribute literature and sign up new members. Also two complimentary tables will be provided for the auction house along with a room to hold the

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auction on Saturday 6pm to 1 am. A room will be provided for C-4 meetings on Friday 5pm to 11pm and Saturday 9am to 1:45pm., also complimentary.

**Ed Aleo/Bay State Coin Show will make a \$500.00 donation to C4!**

Bay State will provide a floor plan to all collectors attending the show that will outline all C-4 exhibitor tables in color. All exhibitor tables will be in same room (unless otherwise requested by individual C-4 exhibitors). Bay State will run half page ads in Numismatic News and coin World with red color !!!

#### Hours of show:

Dealers: Thursday 4:30 PM to 8:30 PM; Friday 10 AM to 7 PM; Sat. 10 AM to 7 PM; Sunday 10 AM to 4 PM.

Public: Thursday: None; Friday/Saturday 10:30 AM-7 PM; Sunday 10:30 AM-4 PM

Bourse Space: 4 ft. table \$195; 6 ft. table \$295; 8 ft. table \$345; showcase rent:\$10; lamp rent: \$5

Show location: Radisson Hotel ... recently totally remodeled. Old name was "57" Park Plaza Ho Jo.

Address: 200 Stuart St., Boston, Ma 02116 (6th fl)

Phone no.: 617-482-1800

Special show room rates: \$100 single, double \$110.(Lower rate hotels are available within 25 minute ride of show).

There will be about 20 bourse spaces set aside at Bay State for C-4 dealers. Contact Ed Aleo early for details at [REDACTED] or write to Box 400, Winchester, Ma 01890.

## **BOOK FOR SALE**

### **John Hull: Builder of the Bay Colony** by: Hermann Frederick Clarke, A.B.

1993 Reprint of the 1940 original  
by A.W. Pollock & Co.  
Wolfeboro, New Hampshire

This book is an excellent reference about the first coin maker of the colonies. Its pages offer information not only of numismatic relevance, but also of historical importance. Its 20 chapters discuss the history of John Hull as it ties in to the history of the Massachusetts colony, and covers societal aspects, religious customs and rivalries, Indian affairs, and relations with the Crown. A "must have" for any serious collector of Massachusetts coinage, or anyone with interest in the history of the colonial period.

***Available to C4 courtesy of Larry and Harvey Stack***

Price: \$10.00 + 2.50 for mailing (insured Special 4<sup>th</sup> class)

To purchase a copy, please send a check for \$12.50 payable to C4 and mail to:

Angel Pietri  




### **Call for Auction consignments**

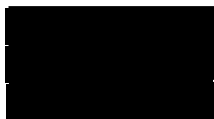
We need your consignments for our upcoming auction to be held at the Third Annual C4 Convention in Boston. The auction will again be held by McCawley and Grellman, who have done a wonderful job

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for us in our two previous sales. If you are thinking about selling all or part of your collection, the C4 convention is a wonderful opportunity to do so. Commissions are very competitive regardless of your consignment size. And you will see your coins auctioned off before a full crowd of colonial enthusiasts, not just the small number who usually attend other colonial auctions. In addition, your consignments benefit the C4 treasury. You can confer with previous major consignors, who can vouch for the success they enjoyed selling in our previous auctions.

If you are interested in consigning, contact either of the following for details:

Bob Grellman  
Chris McCawley  
Tom Rinaldo



***Help C4 make it three major successes in a row!***



#### **MEMBER RESIGNED:**

Jeff Rock, San Diego, CA

#### **NEW MEMBERS:**

Scott E. Annechino, Rochester, NY  
Joseph Marchitelli, Richmond Hill, NY  
David W. Showers, Davis, CA  
Gary W. McCarthy, Darien, CT  
Eugene Bessler, Florence, KY  
Jesse Holzer, New York, NY  
New World Rarities, Ltd., Bohemia, NY  
Charles S. Mamiye, Oakhurst, NJ  
Robert Marshall, East Patchogue, NY

John M. Dirnbauer, Glen Mills, PA  
 Rob Weiner, Boston, MA  
 Greg Harrington, Norman, OK  
 Ron Zak, Annandale, NJ  
 Steve Hayden, Mauldin, SC  
 Frealon N. Bibbins, Sausalito, CA  
 Bruce Edeburn, Anchorage, AL  
 Robert Merchant, Cocoa, FL



## **Letters to the Editor**

The Ryder 16 Dots:

Concerning the Ryder 16 shown and described in the last publication, my explanation for the dots is rust.

To some degree the manufacture of our early coinage was crude. The concentration on production was primary since the operation was conducted for profit and the immediacy demanded issuance of these cents as soon as possible. Constraints by the legislature and by the necessity of beating schedules and monetary obligations pressured manufacturing to the degree that perfect storage of used dies either was neglected or just did not happen. I believe the dies for this *particular coin* were stored after a sufficient quantity was made and during the time that elapsed until these dies were again brought into usage allowed for some amount of condensate to form on the obverse and reverse dies before they were reused to resume production at a later date.

Assume that the manufacturing plant was a barn or some barn-like structure. It is easy to assume, also, that there was no humidity control or other type of weather forbearance and, thus, it would be easy for such an occurrence to happen within weeks or months. The scattered nominal number of dots also suggests another theory. I would expect the condensate would be in a more localized area and

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not scattered on the surface. The scattered appearance of the dots would suggest to me that perhaps some worker in storing the dies accidentally breathed or sneezed and these scattered dots originated from the worker's spittle on the surface of the die. Whether it is spittle or humidity, the vapor was caused to stay on the surface of the die. Time would cause that vapor to erode the surface of the die and pit it. The pits become dots on the occurrence of the striking.

Examples of this cause and effect are found on many of our proof half cents with black surface dots having been left on the surface of the coins. A prime example of the condensate and its effect on dies are the Castorland half dollars. On the reverse of the coin, at the lower part of the tree trunk, there is an area around the sap pail that has a large number of dots. These were probably caused by condensate on the dies. As a matter of fact, in the case of the Castorland, the pattern of raised dots was enlarged as the dies were reused from time to time. There is a whole history about the reverse die which could possibly be told at another time.

On the St. Patrick's coinage, the farthing has a "die variety" with raised dots also caused by condensate on the dies and this particular reverse has been referred to as the farthing with Nimbus. This has been typed by the inventive merchant to make it more valuable when, in fact, from a value standpoint, it might be considered at less value. That's for you collectors to decide. We all become victims of this sales inventiveness from time to time without knowing the full cause and effect.

Getting back to the R-16, we are talking about a die progression state but not a new variety. Unless you want to refer to this new observation as the 16 With Spit. (That ought to kill that!)

My cherrypicking days are pretty well passed. Identifying a die variety used to be a snap but now I am unpracticed and the new up and comers have passed me by. That's not tear jerking; just a recognition and acceptance of the fact. And I say up and at'em and more power to you. Go get'em.

I am lucky that I had John Ford as one of my early and primary teachers. When I pursued Colonials in the '60s, I was also lucky to have Richard Picker and Ted Craige as valued instructors. Today, you collectors have new and more in-depth teachers. I was one of the few cherrypickers of past days in colonials. Today there are a lot more of you but that does not matter because the field is much wider and much more diversified. When I went for types and varieties, I never had the schooling you fellows pick up in the varieties now. All I can do is buy what you fellows find (if it's available) and feel lucky to do so. Cherrypickers of today are far more advanced and far more schooled at finding the treasures that are still out there.

Don Groves



### **Useful Bits from IEAHCNET**

**The Institute for Early American History and Culture**

Dan Freidus

IEAHCNET has been a source of useful references to me. Here are a few:

- The Virginia Colonial Records Project database of the Library of Virginia, a vast finding aid to the basic sources for the study of colonial Virginia history, is now available for electronic access. For details, contact John Kneebone, Library of Virginia, 11<sup>th</sup> St. at

  
JKneebone@LEO.VSLA.EDU

- You are invited to participate in the Town Crier On-Line forum. Discussion at the forum centers around the issues, people, and events of 18th century America. The forum is very active and said to be the only one of its kind on the internet. Participants include academicians, historians, lay persons interested in the period, researchers, teachers, and students. You can access the forum directly at <http://earlyamerica.com/towncrier/towncrier.html>

The "earlyamerica" website has other interesting components in addition to the forum. It is well worth a visit.

- Documentary History of the State of New York: Review by Richard Jensen, University of Illinois, Chicago.  
(Note: I found this review on IEAHCNET, the email list of The Institute for Early American History and Culture. Prof. Jensen was kind enough to allow us to reprint his review here.)

E.B. O'Callaghan. "The Documentary History of the State of New York." (4 volumes, 1849. CD-ROM published 1994 by Pine Books Co., 984 Washington Blvd., Abilene, TX 79601.

ISBN 1-886103-00-3 \$128)

The O'Callaghan collection of original documents from New York has been a standard source for historians of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It comprises hundreds of highly revealing primary sources related to social, democratic, political, economic and Indian history. It comprises 4000 pages in four large volumes, fully indexed. This CD-ROM edition, for Mac or Windows, is basically a collection of images of each page, which are read using the excellent Adobe Acrobat reader (which is included on the CD-ROM). Thus we have a very photographic reprint on CD-ROM, with very little value added. The texts have not been scanned or OCR'D. Indeed, the variety of fonts, and the many broken or faded characters, not to mention the old spellings and abbreviations, would make OCR a difficult project indeed, even with a powerful tool like Omnipage Pro. As it stands, none of the text is searchable; page scan can be imported into a word processor as images, but not as words. The CD-ROM takes good advantage of Acrobat: a click on a line in the table of contents or index of illustrations will, however, switch immediately to that page. Historical accuracy is another thing. The images are highly accurate, and the view of "New Amsterdam" is attractive. However, the "Wild Animals of New Netherland" features a handsome unicorn set against palm trees.

This CD-ROM will be useful primarily to reference libraries in New

York that do not have a paper copy of O'Callaghan.



## **THE HISTORY OF THE CASTORLAND SETTLEMENT**

**Is the Castorland Jeton a 'Jeton de presence' or a coin?**

By Angel Pietri

This article is the result of the coincidence of my having bought the book "CASTORLAND: French Refugees in the Western Addirondacks, 1793-1814" by Edith Pilcher ( Harbor Hill Books, 1985 ) and my being the successful bidder for lot #96 at the Eliasberg sale, a lovely original Castorland Jeton (Fig. 1. I bought the book about three weeks before the auction, and it had already been placed in my library with the likely fate of most of the books I buy. UNREAD! However, once I won the lot at the sale, something told me I had to read the book. So I did. And following is a short summary of the book, and my humble thoughts on the nature of the Castorland Jeton.

The book mainly chronicles the initial 4 years of the Castorland project from information found in the 'Journal of Castorland'. This journal was written by the first three members of the Castorland team to arrive in America. This journal would have died in obscurity were it not for the fact that it was discovered by William Appleton, well known numismatist, in 1862 in an open book stall along the banks of the Seine River in Paris during one of his trips there. It was written in French. He donated it to the Mass. Historical Society, where apparently Dr. John Appleton made a handwritten copy for Dr. Franklin B. Hough, who in turn translated it to English. Dr. Hough was a very prominent historian at the time who wrote a comprehensive history of Lewis and Jefferson Counties in New York. The diary was written by Pierre Pharoux and Simon Desjardins, the first two American Commissioners to Castorland, and Geoffrey Desjardins ( Simon's brother ) who was the company clerk. Entries were made by all three, with Geoffrey finally compiling it all into one book. It covers the period of June ,1793 when they initially



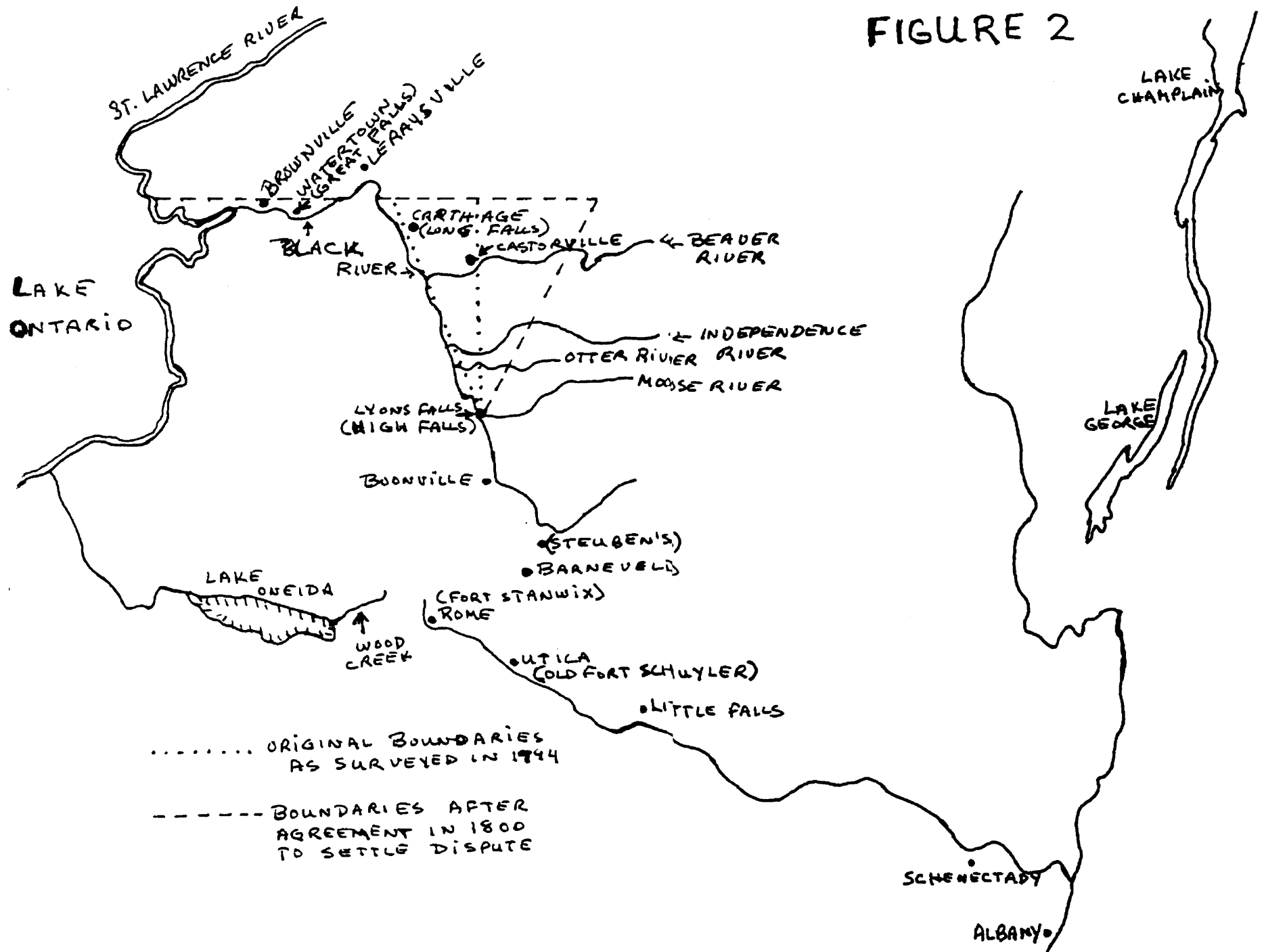
**Figure 1: Castorland Jeton or Half Dollar?** This coin is lot #96 from the Louis E. Eliasberg Collection Sale by Bowers and Merena, May 20, 1996. Photo provided by courtesy of Auctions by Bowers and Merena, Inc., Wolfeboro, NH

arrived, to April of 1797 when it suddenly ends, apparently when the Desjardins brothers left Castorland. It also contains a copy of the original company Prospectus and Constitution. Besides the details of business at Castorland, the journal includes many details about the area's geography, plant and animal life, and their impressions about Americans in general, which was very negative overall. They felt that Americans were rude, lacking in hospitality, unreliable workers, self-centered, and unrefined (sound familiar to anyone? ). In describing their meeting with Robert Morris, they state that he "received us without ceremony, seeing that he could gain nothing from us." Of Thomas Jefferson they state "Mr. Jefferson, Minister of Foreign Affairs, did not even offer us seats, but we took the liberty of helping ourselves." This despite the fact that they had a letter of introduction from Gouverneur Morris, then U.S. Minister to France, addressed to Governor Clinton of New York. ( Has everyone noticed that in matters of money the two Morrisises, though not related, always seems to come up. These guys must have had a good nose for money, and knowledge of how to get around. )

### **The 'Compagnie de New York'**

The Compagnie de New York was formed by a group of noblemen and wealthy tradesmen at the time of the French Revolution and France's Reign of Terror. There were apparently many ventures of this type at the time, since the French upper classes lived in constant fear of being called royalists, a charge that could easily lead to terminal bad health. At the time, as you all know, there were many sharp objects flying around aiming at people's necks. As a result, many noblemen were looking to America as a place where they could set up their estates to continue enjoying their wealth. In addition, these people were influenced by Rousseau's romantic view of a simple, bucolic "back to nature" existence, and another famous French author of the time, St. Jean de Crevecoeur, who wrote "Letters from an American Farmer". Crevecoeur lived and farmed in the Hudson Valley, had an American wife, and would subsequently be French consul to New York City. Then there was James D. LeRay de Chaumont. His father had lent the U.S. large sums of money during the American Revolution, and he had lived in the

FIGURE 2



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United States from 1785-1790 trying to recover this debt. During this time, he became an American citizen. He was a good friend of Benjamin Franklin, Gouverneur Morris and William Constable. The latter was the original owner of the land purchased.

The Compagnie was formed in 1793 with the main drivers being LeRay and his brother in law Pierre Chassanis. They were two of the largest stockholders ( 100 and 204 shares respectively ) in a group of 41 major ( holding 1 full share or more ) stockholders. Gouverneur Morris was later a minor shareholder. The Constitution of the Compagnie was signed in Paris on June 6, 1793 amidst great optimism. The stockholders had read a Prospectus which presented a very rosy picture of Castorland which turned out to be in sharp contrast with reality. This does not appear to have been a deliberate attempt by the Directors to deceive, but a genuine misunderstanding based on incredible wishful thinking and erroneous information. Among the inaccuracies listed were its closeness to Albany, easy access to Lake Ontario, beautiful climate, calling the region a fast growing region, and describing the Americans as people of gentleness and benevolence of character. Albany was more than 150 miles away. The river route to Lake Ontario was of no use because of many falls along the way. The area has the worst winter weather in New York state, with drops to 40 degrees below zero and a short growing season. The area was far from growing rapidly, and had no roads. And as we already noted, the initial settlers found the Americans to be definitely short of gentleness and benevolence. Figure 2 shows the general area as well as the location of Castorland. To make matters worse, the sale was transacted using an inaccurate map of the region drawn in 1779 by a Major General William Tryon, Governor of the Province at the time. The map completely misrepresented the course of the Black River, which was one of the major boundaries. This made Castorland appear as a very nice rectangular piece of land with ample frontage to Lake Ontario. When the land was actually surveyed, the error was discovered but much too late. This led to a long standing lawsuit between the Compagnie and William Constable. Figure 3 shows the supposed vs. the actual layout of the property. Figure 4 shows the area of Castorland before and after the final settlement of the lawsuit.

CASTORLAND  
(ANTICIPATED U.S. REAL)

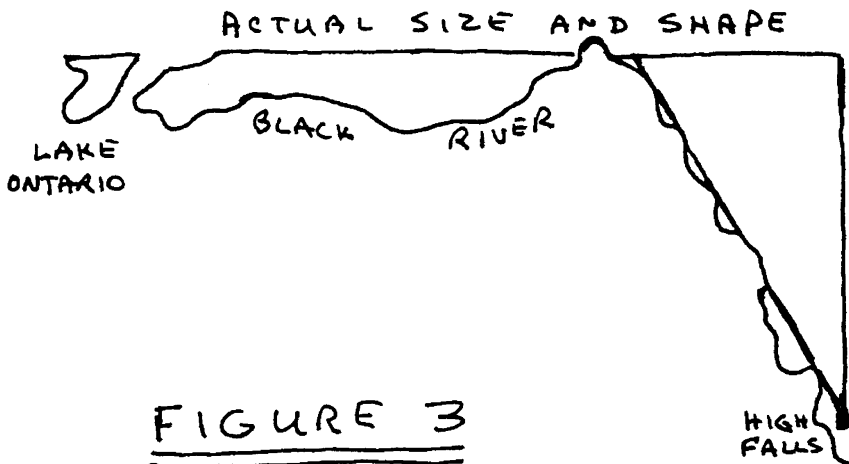
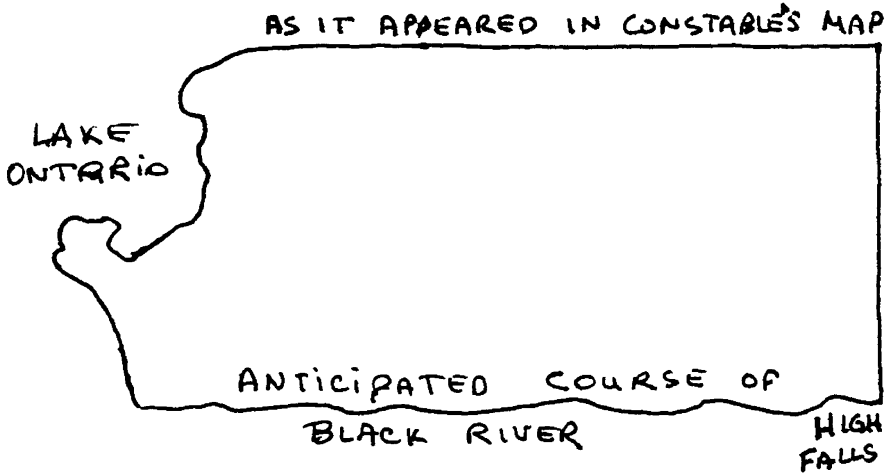


FIGURE 3

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Despite all this wishful thinking and optimistic prospectus, the Compagnie had some trouble in attracting investors. From an initial proposed purchase of 630,000 acres, they had to trim it down to 220,500 acres. William Constable, who had purchased the land for \$0.20 an acre, sold it to Pierre Chassanis for \$0.50 an acre. Chassanis in turn sold it to the stockholders for \$1.48 an acre. The price of the land went up 7-fold in 1 year.

So in 1793 the Compagnie sent its first two American Commissioners. The first was Simon Desjardins. He was a wealthy Frenchman who had been highly connected to the royal court and was Chamberlain to King Louis XVI. He agreed to serve without pay. The second one was Pierre Pharoux, a young, energetic and brilliant architect, engineer and land surveyor. He was paid a salary of about \$600.00 a year. Their job was to verify the boundaries of the property, survey the land and divide it into 50 acre lots, erect houses, stores, roads and a mill, conduct Company business, keep a journal, and report to the Director ( Chassanis ) and the other four commissioners. They left France for the United States on July 8, 1793 in a badly overcrowded American sailing ship called Liberty, yet full of hope and enthusiasm. The Journal starts about a week before their trip starts. Following is a short summary of events year by year.

1793- Not much was accomplished. They arrived at New York, and subsequently moved via the Hudson River to Albany where they set up residence. They undertook an initial trip to Castorland following the Mohawk River. Since there were no roads from Old Fort Schuyler or Fort Stanwix to Castorland, they went via Lake Oneida to Lake Ontario and then followed along the Black River to Castorland. They were there about one week only before they had to depart due to the approach of winter. Their first two major surprises were that the initial survey that William Constable had promised was not done, and that the Black River was not navigable between Lake Ontario and Castorland. This however did not deter Desjardins or Pharoux.

1794- Reality starts to set in. The true course of the Black River is

# CASTORLAND

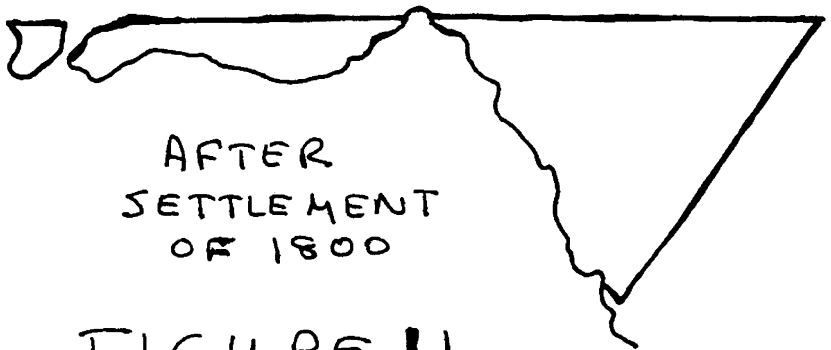
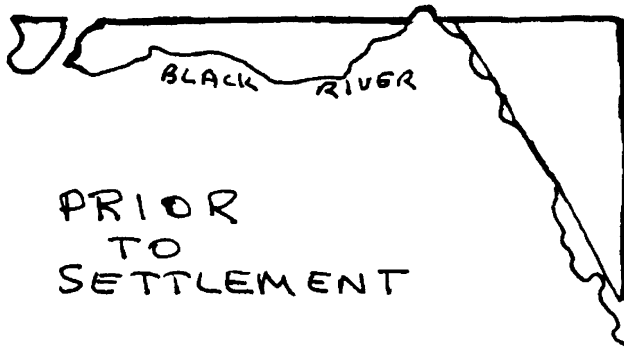


FIGURE 4

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realized, and conflicts over boundaries come up. In addition, they find that the High Falls are not really within Castorland's boundaries. This is the start of a feud with Mr. Constable. Their work is severely hampered by epidemics of dysentery, swarms of black flies and workers continually quitting. They manage to build a road to Steuben's place and build a first log cabin. Work was financed partly by the sale of 20,000 acres to Nicolas Olive. This made Olive one of the largest stockholders in the Compagnie. However, the precise location of the 20,000 acres was not established.

1795- Slow progress continues on the High Falls establishment. They enlarge the first cabin and build a second one as well as a stable. The Long Falls are selected as a site for a mill, with the initial work on the mill started. This is all done at the expense of 18 hour work days, still battling the black flies, dysentery and unreliable work force. The legal suit with William Constable is filed. Acrimony starts to appear between Desjardins and Olive over the site selection for Olive's land. The year ends with disaster as Pharoux, in his last of many trips down the Black River, loses control of his raft and drowns after going over some falls. This robbed the settlement of its most energetic member.

1796- The Directors start to get impatient over the slow progress, and Desjardins appears to lose favor with the Board. The Compagnie demands the reimbursement of some money, and Desjardins has to sell 2,216 acres at \$2.00 an acre to comply. A road to Fort Stanwyx becomes available. The colony is victimized by theft from a former employee, and though he was captured, only part of their money is recovered. Progress continues on the previous settlements, and plans are laid for Castorville on the banks of the Beaver River. Late in the summer a new administrator was sent by the Compagnie. He was Rudolphe Tillier, a Swiss businessman and former judge. Subsequent journal entries start to show repeated conflicts between Desjardins and Tillier, and complaints about Tillier countermanding some of Desjardins orders. For example, after all the work that had been put into the mill at Long Falls, Tillier rejected the site. The biggest contingent of French settlers so far ( a grand total of 5 ) came this year.

1797- Last year of the journal. Desjardins continues to complain. Tillier had moved to New York City to run Castorland from there. He did not assign Desjardins to take over at Castorland, instead choosing M. Tassart, Olive's representative at Castorland, who had previously had disagreements with Desjardins. In the last journal entry on April 8, 1797, Desjardins states that Tillier offered him the option to stay in New York to work under him, or go to Castorland and work with M. Tassart. He states that he prefers the latter. Sometime after this Desjardins quits his position, which as previously stated was held without pay. Mrs. Pilcher speculates that he left due to his disagreements with Tillier. However, John J. Ford, in one of his trips to the museums and historical societies of northern NY and Canada found a letter from Desjardins to the Director, M. Chassanis. It was dated August 5, 1796. In this letter he expresses the fact that he cannot continue working for the Compagnie without remuneration. He details how his previous sources of income from France had dried up due to events surrounding the Revolution in France. It raises the possibility that this is the main reason he left the project.

1797-1800- Tillier was supposed to continue the journal, but no journal survives. Apparently Tillier was not a very effective administrator, trying to run the settlement from New York City. It seems he was a difficult individual to deal with. Settlers came and went but the colony did not thrive. Many errors were committed by the Compagnie also. They made several demands without any knowledge of the land, and refused to provide adequate funding for the work required. Most stockholders never set foot in Castorland. For example, they had some architects in Paris draw plans for a road from Castorville to High Falls. They drew a perfectly straight road, ignoring the topography and with no provision for bridges. Strict orders were given to build it according to plans. They wound up with a road interrupted by several unbridged waterways, with two segments of the road gapped by an uncrossable ravine between mountain peaks. In 1800, Tillier was removed and a very acrimonious lawsuit followed between the Compagnie and M. Tillier. Charges and counter-charges were exchanged, a traditional example

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of the pot calling the kettle black since both sides had plenty to do with the collapse of the settlement. After 1800, LeRay seems to have assumed a more and more prominent role, being the only American citizen among the largest stockholders. When the Castorland charter expired in 1814, the land was auctioned off to pay the creditors. LeRay was one of the largest creditors and wound up with a lot of the land. He assumed local control of the land, and the area prospered and settlers continued to arrive. Le Ray eventually had financial difficulties and transferred his holdings to his son Vincent.

Why was Castorland a failure? It was probably a combination of factors; a land scam, wishful thinking, and ineffective administration from afar were key factors. Lack of funding was also a factor. In addition, many of the initially anticipated settlers thought that moving to Castorland would be like setting up a country home in the outskirts of Paris, with plenty of help available for hire. This was in contrast with the actual facts of frontier life, where settlements prospered only by the handiwork of the owners. It was no aristocratic heaven.

## **Is the Jeton a coin or not?**

The Castorland jeton, if it is a jeton, has been called a 'jeton de presence' by most people, including Mrs. Pilcher. This opinion seems to be based on the reading of the Constitution of the Compagnie de New York, which on Article 9 states the following:

*"The commissaries in Paris shall receive no salary, but in recognition of the care which they may bestow upon the common concerns, there shall be given them an attendance fee ( droit de presence ) for each special or general assembly where they may meet on the affairs of the company. This fee is fixed at two Jettons(sic) of silver, of the weight of 4 to 5 gros. They shall be made at the expense of the company, under the direction of the commissaries, who shall decide upon their form and design." ( Per Michael Hodder, a gros is an obsolete French measure of weight dating back to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The book describes a gros as equal to 59.02 grains. )*

Breen, however, calls them coins in his encyclopedia. He states that these were ordered by Tillier to be used as equivalents of half-ecus. I tend to agree with him, and my reasons follow.

1- The constitution was written and signed in 1793. If the jeton was meant to be the above mentioned droit de presence, why are there only 'jetons' dated 1796? I am not aware of any significance of the year 1796 that could have been in the minds of the board members in 1793 to date them all 1796. Does this mean that the commissaries did not receive their droit de presence for the first three years? I do not see this as likely considering that enthusiasm was at its peak in 1793 and went steadily downhill thereafter. By 1796 the journal shows a mood that was reaching the alarm stage, calling for the replacement of the American Commissioner in charge of local operations, and for return of part of their expenses. Would the commissaries be in much of a mood to undertake extra expenses like minting a commemorative piece? Hardly likely in my estimation. A commemorative 'jeton de presence' would therefore seem much more likely to have been made in 1793 or early in 1794. Could the 'jeton' have been post-dated? Again, this is unlikely. There is no significance to be attributed to 1796. And while the practice of pre-dating coins was common in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, I am not familiar with any post-dated coins. Of course, I could be wrong on this last point. If anyone is familiar with such a practice at the time, I would appreciate your comments.

2- 1796 is a pivotal year however in the history of the colony. It brings a new administrator with the first wave of colonists. It seems reasonable that this new administrator would bring this new coins to mark the beginning of his term and facilitate commerce for the new settlers. This would not be surprising in a country where any coin of good weight and composition was welcomed in the channels of commerce.

3- Jetons are usually known as pieces meant for accounting or presentation purposes. Why would the Compagnie make them so heavy if they were solely for presentation. In addition, jetons were

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not usually made with reeded edges. Most usually have plain edges, and are fairly thin. One could speculate that the unusually heavy jetons described in article 9 of the constitution may have been a cover for an intended coin to avoid suspicion by the French revolutionary government.

4- Castorland pieces are of legal weight. Review of three recently seen specimens of originals shows the following weights: Eliasberg- 226.6g, Stack's 9/8/93 sale- 245.5g, a recent specimen sold by Tom Rinaldo- 230.7g. The average weight of these three specimens is 234.3g. This correlates very well with the legal standard for the French half-ecu of 227.53g, and heavier than the Spanish 4 real piece at 208.87g ( weight standards from Breen's Encyclopedia ). In addition, these pieces are struck coin turn while most presentation pieces are struck medal turn. And most surviving specimens show significant wear, usually to VF or lower levels. Where were unofficial pieces that had no government sanction most likely to experience this degree of wear, France or the U.S.? I am not sure but the U.S. seems a more likely place. France would have been a very dangerous place for noblemen to issue anything without government sanction. Furthermore, if these were jetons de presence, I can't see that the commissaries would have been so tight on cash that they spent them all. I would think some Uncirculated or About Uncirculated examples would be found.

I do not know if we will ever have a definite answer unless and until new evidence surfaces. Both theories present gaps, but for the above reasons I lean in favor of the theory that these Castorland pieces were a trial coinage for the new French colony probably introduced by Tillier as Breen speculated. Why then do so few specimens survive? The answer could be that very few were made or that they were largely melted due to their high metal content, or both. The fact that French silver coins were heavier than their Spanish silver counterparts was well known in the U.S. ( Studies on Money in Early America, Chapter 4, ANS 1976 ). Again, we could speculate that astute American merchants in the region would have noticed their heavy weight and gradually removed most of them from circulation to be melted and sold as bullion.

What about the supposedly 'original' silver proof Castorland pieces from the original dies? Are these true originals? There is a clear difference between the circulated originals and the Uncirculated proofs. The former are all seen in the very earliest die state with none or hardly any rust, and little convexity. Their edge reeding also has an irregular zigzag pattern, as made by a Castaing machine. The latter are all seen with a more advanced die state, with definite die rust, and evident convexity. Their edge reeding is more parallel as hand made reeding usually is. They were probably made at a later time, though not necessarily much later, but after the dies had been sitting idle for awhile. Most likely, these were made for collectors as Michael Hodder stated in his Coin World article on the Castorland pieces on September 26, 1994. Therefore, I agree with him that these proof specimens, rather than true originals, were early restrikes instead.

I would welcome any comments for, against or neutral to my arguments.



## ***The 1787 Immunis Columbia: A late Rahway/Elizabethtown product?***

By John Lorenzo and Roger Moore

### Introduction

The origin of the 1787 Immunis Columbia has previously been considered to be in dispute (ref. 1). Evidence indicates that the probable mint is late Rahway/ Elizabethtown. The probable time frame of these events would be between the spring of 1788 and sometime in 1790 when the minting of New Jersey coppers ceased. Any final determination must be considered speculative due to a lack of conclusive records. However, certain numismatic tools can be of value in providing the circumstantial evidence. These tools are: 1) die state analysis, 2) analysis of undertypes, and 3) metrological data, such as comparisons of the weight, diameter and thickness of the



**Figure 1:** a) obverse and b) reverse photographs of the large, thin planchet 1787 Immunis Columbia. All four known examples are overstruck on New Jersey host coins. The Maris 26-s is the primary host coin and this is also considered to be a late Rahway/Elizabethtown Product. The large thin flans were struck first before the small, thick non-overstruck flans based on die state analysis.

coinage. One other important tool that may be used is reverse die sharing. However, this is not relevant to the present discussion. The validity of die punch linking as a methodology for attribution of mint origin and/or a die engraver has recently come under increasing criticism and will not be utilized in this paper. This form of attribution is of no further value in the attribution of colonials in the opinion of these authors (ref. 2).

### Die state analysis

An overview of the die states of both the large and the small planchet 1787 Immunis Columbia coins indicate that the large planchet types were struck first (fig. 1). Two of the four known large planchet Immunis Columbia lack the typical die break which is found on all the observed specimens of the small planchet type (fig. 2). The two specimens in question are the Rhode island specimen (ref. 3) and the 1976 ANA specimen (ref. 4). Table 1 presents a listing of the four known large thin Immunis Columbia specimens and table 2 provides a representative listing of the more common small, thick flan type. One of the large, thin planchet types does have a die break at an early die state when compared to the observed die states of the small planchet flans (ref. 5). One of the large, thin types was unplated and was unavailable for inspection by the authors (ref. 6). The early die break begins at the eagle's beak and extends into the left wing. Further die deterioration is then observed with the extension of the die break from the tip of the wing to the first "u" of "pluribus"- The latest die state is evidenced by a break from the eagle's tail to the coin's rim. One conclusion that can be drawn from these observations is that the large planchet Immunis Columbia were unquestionably struck first.

### Metrological similarities with Maris NJ 17-b

In the opinion of these authors, the New Jersey variety which has the greatest metrological similarity to both types of the Immunis Columbia (i.e., a large, thin planchet variety having an undertype and a small, thick planchet variety without an undertype) is Maris 17-b. This variety also is struck on a large, thin planchet variety which is



**Figure 2:** a) obverse and b) reverse photographs of the small, thick 1787 Immunis Columbia. Observe the later die break on the reverse compared to the large planchet variety. The small planchet variety is not struck over a host coin and is on a virgin planchet stock similar to other Elizabethtown coins, such as the New Jersey Maris varieties: 17-b, 38-a, 38-b, 38-c, 39-a, 41-c, 42-c and 44-c.



**Figure 3:** a) obverse and b) reverse photographs of a Maris 17-b variety on a large, thin planchet overstruck on a host coin. The metrological properties are very similar to the large thin 1787 *Immunis Columbia* pictured in figure 1.

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typically overstruck on a whole variety of host coins including: 1787 and 1788 Connecticut coppers, 1782 Irish halfpence, 1774 Louis XVI one sol, Nova Eborac Copper, 1783 Nova Constellatio, and Vermont coppers (ref. 8). As expected, the small, thick planchet Maris 17-b has never been encountered with an undertype. The primary cause of the large, thin planchet type of Maris 17-b is the increased metal flow (spread) of the planchet produced by the second strike (overstrike) (ref. 9). Mathias Ogden's purpose in initially using light

weight host coins as planchets was not thought to be based on greed or a desire to defraud, but rather on expediency due to a severe lack of planchet stock (ref. 1). When acceptable virgin planchet stock did become available (small, thick planchets), they were utilized. There are strong metrological similarities between the Immunis Columbia and the Maris 17-b large, thin and small, thick types. These metrological similarities prompt one to examine in detail how similar and dissimilar these two issues really are to one another.

### Immunis Columbia overstrike data

Both the Maris 17-b variety and the 1787 Immunis Columbia have large, thin planchet varieties overstruck. In the case of the 1787 Immunis Columbia, the host coin in three of the four known specimens (table 1) have been confirmed to be the Maris 26-S variety. Of interest the Maris 26-S has been attributed as a late Rahway/Elizabethtown product (ref.10). The fourth example of the large, thin Immunis Columbia issue has a New Jersey undertype, but, due to the coin's preservation, the die variety of the undertype cannot be confirmed (ref. 6). The total lack of any overstriking on the small, thick planchet stock of Immunis Columbia and the Maris 17-b's and the striking progression of the large, thin to small, thick planchets for both these issues lends support to a Rahway/Elizabethtown connection. This, of course, assumes that the reader accepts a late Rahway/Elizabethtown origin for NJ 17-b. In addition, the use of another suspected late Rahway/Elizabethtown product as the host coin for the Immunis Columbia, namely the Maris 26-S, adds a small piece of supporting evidence in terms of an overstriking connection. What is not readily apparent is why a New



**Figure 4:** a) obverse and b) reverse photographs of the Maris 17-b variety on a small, thick planchet variety. Very similar metrology properties are seen on the small thick virgin flans of the 1787 *Immunis Columbia* pictured in figure 2.

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Jersey host coin would have been used to mint a new and unfamiliar coinage as the *Immunis Columbia*. Sometime during 1788-1790 when the minting is thought to have occurred for both the large and small planchet varieties, the country was in the middle of a copper panic (ref. 1). New Jersey coinage, whose value was still backed by the state, was the only copper coinage receiving wide acceptance. Why New Jersey coinage with an established value would have been used as an undertype, instead of some less accepted coinage, is interesting to consider. Undertypes by themselves can not dictate a mint attribution, but when coupled with strong supporting metrological data the attribution can take on a synergistic effect.

Comparisons of the similar planchet stocks of the *Immunis Columbia* with those of the *Maris 17-b*, as well as the overstriking data would seem to support the minting of the 1787 large and small flan *Immunis Columbia* at the Rahway/Elizabethtown mint sometime during the 1788-1790 period. Presented next are some further metrological calculations and comparisons for both the large, thin and small, thick *Immunis Columbia* and the *Maris 17-b* variety to support this opinion.

### Metrological comparisons and calculations

Normally the evaluation of a given planchet stock can include the diameter, width and weight of the flan. Diameters of the four known large, thin planchet *Immunis Columbia* flans show a range between 29.7mm-30.5mm (table 1). This corresponds with the diameter values of the larger planchet *Maris 17-b* (class III) which has a diameter range of 29.0-30.0 mm., remembering from my previous paper in the Sept. '94 Penny Wise (ref. 7) that the ANS(Breen plate) and Scherr:3155 coins are irregular due to die bulging at k-3 and are considered error coins. Nevertheless, their 31.0 mm readings would not disrupt this comparison of diameter ranges for these two issues (ref. 7). Similarly, a very narrow band in the diameters of the small, thick planchet *Immunis Columbia* also occurs. This range is 26.1-26.9 mm (table 2). Of interest, the weights of both the large, thin and small, thick planchet varieties of the *Immunis Columbia* generally exceed the statutory weight requirement for New Jersey coinage of

150 grains (ref. 10). This is similar to the class I small, thick virgin Maris 17-b flans at an average diameter of 26mm and weight of 150 grains. This provides some indirect evidence of Mathias Ogden being the minter (not die engraver) of this coinage, since it is believed that he tried to use planchets which met the statutory weight of 150 grains (ref. 1). In particular, this is seen on the small, thick 17-b. Concerning the weight comparison of these issues, the small, thick Maris 17-b variety has a mean weight of 150 grains (class I). The large, thin Maris 17-b's have an average of only 135 grains. These values are skewed this low for the large, thin types because they are overstruck on low weight host coins such as Connecticut coppers. The large, thin Immunis Columbia do not show this low weight, because the Maris 26-S host coins generally are nearer the statutory weight of 150 grains. One interesting piece of data which would be important for comparing large, thin and small, thick planchets is a thickness measurement. Unfortunately, only one cataloger has included this information (ref. 12). Because of the added potential benefit of this information and due to lack of direct measurements, the authors have developed a generic formula which allows the calculation of "planchet thickness" based upon diameter and weight measurements (equation 1). The following facts allow this calculation to be made:

- \* copper density is 8.96 grams/cubic centimeter
- \* 1 gram equals 15.43 grains (1 grain=0.0648 grams)
- \* the volume of a cylinder equals the height (thickness) multiplied by pi (3.1416), multiplied by the radius squared (half the coins diameter)
- \* the volume of a copper coin in cubic centimeters is the weight of the coin in grams divided by 8.96 grams/cc (or the weight of the coin in grains divided by 138.25 grains/cc).

Therefore, from the above:

$$\text{Thickness} = \frac{\text{Coin's weight in grains} / 138.25 \text{ gr./cc}}{\text{in cm.} \quad 3.1416 \times (\text{coin diameter} / 2)^2}$$

In an ideal world this equation should work perfectly. However a number of assumptions are made which are known to be incorrect. Assumption 1: coins are perfectly round. Obviously, this is incorrect for most colonials. However, even in the case of overstrikes, where the greatest variations might be expected there is a fairly close agreement between measured perpendicular diameters. Assumption 2: coins are made from pure copper. Most of the coins under consideration are primarily copper. In addition, metallurgical studies have shown that the copper content of planchets, even from counterfeiting operations, did not vary greatly (ref. 13). Therefore, any error introduced into the calculation from this source should remain consistent for all coins. Assumption 3: coins have perfectly flat obverses and reverses. Obviously, this is not true since a coin's design requires the surface irregularity. Once again, the surface irregularity is fairly consistent from coin to coin, making any error in calculation similar between coins. Assumption 4: all catalogers provide equally accurate data. Since the weight and diameter data has been taken from the coin auction catalogs in most cases, accuracy of this data is somewhat questionable. Some catalogers are known to be meticulous, others less so. Unfortunately, the only way to compensate for this potential error is to include as many measured and weighed coins as possible. A test of the accuracy of the presented calculation was performed by measuring the diameter, weight and thickness of 100 colonial New Jersey coppers. The actual and calculated thickness of the coins were then compared. Equation 1 was found to underestimate the actual thickness by approximately 17%. Because of this consistent underestimation a correction factor 1.17 (cf. =1.17) has been added as a multiplier to equation 1, thereby modifying the calculation as shown in equation 2:

$$\text{Thickness in cm} = \frac{(\text{Coin's weight in grains} / 138.25 \text{ grains/cc}) \times 1.17}{3.1416 \times (\text{coin diameter} / 2)^2}$$

For a coin weighing 150 grains and with a diameter of 30mm, using

equation 2 the coin's thickness would be calculated to be:

$$\text{Thickness} = \frac{150 \text{ g} / 138.27 \text{ g/cc}}{3.1416 \times 1.5 \text{ cm} \times 1.5 \text{ cm}} \times 1.17 = 0.1796 \text{ cm} = 1.796 \text{ mm}$$

The calculated thickness of the small planchet *Immunis Columbia* are provided in table 2. A comparison of both the diameters and thickness' of these planchets with the planchet stock used to make the small planchet *Maris 17-b* variety shows some striking similarities (table 3). Similarly, use of equation 2 for determining planchet thickness was tested on other colonial issues with equal reliability.

### Metrological similarities

In review of the data from tables 2,3 & 4, a comparison of the diameter, weight and calculated thickness data for the large, thin and small, thick planchet *Immunis Columbia* and *Maris 17-b* coinage is very instructive. In regard to the large, thin planchet types (which, based on die state analysis, were minted first), there is a relatively close correlation between the diameter of the *Immunis Columbia* with an average of 30.1mm (range 29.7-30.5mm) (table 1) and the *Maris 17-b* (class III) with an average of 29.7mm (range 29-30mm) (table 3). Similarly, there is a close agreement between the thickness of this planchet type with the *Immunis Columbia* (average 1.69mm, range 1.5-1.9mm) and the *Maris 17-b* (average 1.63mm, range 1.5-1.7mm). However weight distributions are not quite so equally matched with an average overstruck *Immunis Columbia* weighing 150.5 grains (range 131-167.5 grains) while the 17-b average weight for an overstruck coin is only 135.7 grains (range 125-157 grains). As previously discussed, this weight difference is directly attributed to the differences in the host coins used in striking of the large, thin *Immunis Columbia* and the *Maris 17-b*. The consistently higher weight of New Jersey coppers upon which the *Immunis Columbia* were struck, compared to the variety of underweight state and other copper coinages such as *Connecticuts*, upon which the *Maris 17-b* is found (ref. 8), would explain this difference. When comparing the diameters of the overstruck coinage with non-overstruck coinage, it

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must be kept in mind that the second strike produces a widening of the planchet of approximately five percent (i.e., the planchet generally becoming 1-1.5mm larger than the host coin based on the observations of these authors). Table 4 presents other applicable New Jersey copper varieties similar to the 1787 Immunis Columbia types. Only the Maris 17-b shows the same change, over from a large, thin predominantly overstruck planchet to a small, thick totally non-overstruck virgin planchet. However these other varieties consisting of both types of size and thickness indicate similar metrological properties to both types of Immunis Columbia planchets. Table 5 presents a cross-comparison of the above metrological similarities between these two issues.

## Conclusion

This paper supplies support for the conclusion put forth by Michael Hodder (ref. 1) that the 1787 Immunis Columbia was not struck until long after Mathias Ogden submitted his March 3, 1787 coinage proposal to the Continental Congress. The metrological similarities between Maris 17-b and the 1787 Immunis Columbia are quite strong. In addition, information about both die states and undertypes support a common mint location. The probable mint location is late Rahway/Elizabethtown. As suggested by Michael Hodder (ref. 1), since Albion Cox did not leave for England until after September 1, 1790 and Thomas Goadsby was still associated with Ogden in coining coppers in March, 1789, it is possible that the original Rahway partners were also involved with Ogden in the coinage of the 1787 Immunis Columbia.

## Recommended future research

If one agrees that the predominant overstruck large, thin and virgin small, thick flans for both the Maris 17-bs and 1787 Immunis Columbia are a late Rahway/Elizabethtown origin, the next logical issue with a possible link to this mint location may be the George Clinton coppers. Interestingly, these issues previously thought by Breen to be Atlee patterns for Thomas Machin have an association with the 1787 Immunis Columbia. The first three known George

Clinton examples were all overstruck on small, thick 1787 Immunis Columbia flans. The idea of Atlee as a die engraver is questionable, since all previous evidence has been based loosely on systematic punch-linking by Breen and his resurrection of Atlee the die engraver from a notion in Crosby. The authors will look into the George Clinton coppers and their possible association with the late Rahway/Elizabethtown period. How will the other tools utilized in this paper support the peculiarity that the first three discovery specimens were overstruck on small, thick 1787 Immunis Columbia host coins? Will the so-called New York issues all have a new home or will the mottoes prevail?

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**Table 1: The Large Thin Flan 1787 Immunis Columbia Specimens Known**

Pedigree	Diam. (mm)	O/S?	Wt/Thick.	Observations
1. Christie's (4/85), Stack's (9/93), lot 1143	29.7 X 29.7 (horizontal/ vertical)	Yes, on M 26S	155.5g/ 1.95mm	Struck over a late Rahway/Elizabethtown issue.
2. Parmelee (6/25-27/1890) lot #596; Ten Eyck Sale Max Mehl	~ 30 mm	Yes, on an unknown host, probably M 26S	131.0g/ 1.50mm	Due to the low grade of this coin, the undertype is indecipherable.
3. Colonel Phares, ANA 76 Sale, lot 73; Eastern Collector	~ 30.5 mm	Yes, on M 26S	148.9g/ 1.7 mm	This coin was the specimen which initially lead to the fact that the 1786 large, thin Immunis is struck over a NJ M26S, given a late Rahway/ Elizabethtown designation since 76.
4. Chapman, Mills Sale; J.W. Garrett, lot 605	~ 30.3 mm	Yes, on M 26S	167.5g/ 1.6 mm	Three of the four large, thin Immunis are overstruck on late Rahway/ Elizabethtown NJ host coins. Therefore the possible linkage to this mint site exists for both the large, thin and small, thick Immunis Columbia issues.

**Table 1: The Large Thin Flan 1787 Immunis Columbia- Cont.**

	Diam. (mm)	Wt/Thick.
RANGE-	29.7-30.5 mm	131.0-167.5g/ 1.5-1.9 mm
AVERAGE-	30.1 mm	150.5g/ 1.69 mm

**NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS:**

1. THE PARMELEE COIN IS UNPLATED. THE IS UNABLE TO DETERMINE IT'S PRESENT PEDIGREE.
2. THE PARMELEE COIN WAS MEASURED AGAINST THE AMERICAN STANDARD SCALE FOR COIN AND MEDAL MEASUREMENT. A SCALE OF THIS MEASURING SYSTEM IS PRESENTED ABOVE LOT 1 IN THE PARMELEE CATALOG. THE COIN WAS CATALOGUED AS HAVING A SIZE OF "19" ON THIS SCALE. THIS EQUATES TO A MEASUREMENT OF APPROXIMATELY 30 mm. A WEIGHT OF 131 g. WAS FROM REFERENCE 1.
3. ALL THICKNESS VALUES CALCULATED USING EQUATION 2.

**Table 2: The Small Thick Flan 1787 Immunis Columbia**

Pedigree	Diam. (mm)	O/S?	Wt/Thick.	Observations
1. D. Wierzba Collection	26.2 mm	No	157.9g/ 2.44 mm	Partially broken A (PBA) in Columbia, Crosby broken P in Pluribus, Crosby broken N in Unum. Die break from beak to wing, U to tip of wing, tail to wing. These breaks do not occur to this degree on the earlier struck large, thin flans described in Table 1.
2. Allenburger-Taylor, lot 2096	26.64 mm	No	170.5g/ 2.5 mm	Same broken letters and die state as Specimen 1.
3. SFPL 1990 lot 92	26.26 mm (not 21.5)	No	173.35g/ 2.8 mm	Same broken letters and die state as Specimen 1.
4. SFPL 1992 lot 241	26.1 mm	No	158.4g/ 2.5 mm	Die break to U present, no die break from beak to wing. Crosby broken P and N present as with specimens 1-3 above.
5. Picker lot 175	26.9 mm	No	178.9g/ 2.6 mm	Same broken letters and die state as Specimen 1.

**Table 2: The Small Thick Flan 1787 Immunis Columbia- Cont.**

Pedigree	Diam. (mm)	O/S?	Wt/Thick.	Observations
6. Stack's 3/94 lot 86	26.4 mm	No	158.9g/ 2.5 mm	Same broken letters and die state as Specimen 1.
7. Picker-Oechsner lot 1236	26.1 mm	No	133.4g/ 2.1 mm	Same broken letters and die state as Specimen 1.
8. Roper lot 278	26.4 mm	No	142.7g/ 2.2 mm	Same broken letters and die state as Specimen 1.
9. Crosby Plate Coin, then the Norweb Specimen lot 2680	26.5 mm	No	163.2g/ 2.5 mm	Same broken letters and die state as Specimen 1.
RANGE-	26.1-26.9 mm		133.4-178.9g/ 2.1-2.8 mm	
AVERAGE-	26.4 mm		159.7g/ 2.46 mm	

**Table 3: Comparison Chart of Maris 17-b: The Large, Thin to Small, Thick Transition**

Class I- Non-overstruck, small and thick size, virgin planchets

Pedigree	Diam. (mm)	O/S	Wt/Thick.	Observations
1. NJHS	24.9 mm	No	153.9g/ 2.7 mm	The small, thick virgin flans have the same metrological characteristics as the small, thick Immunis Columbia flans: non-overstruck, close to the statutory weight (150 g) and similar planchet annealing. Specimen no. 2 is the smallest collectible non-overstruck NJ. As with Specimen no. 1, the statutory weight of 150g is maintained despite the very small diameter. See Note 1. All these small, thick NJ coppers have a weight near the statutory requirement.
2. T. Carlotto-J. Lorenzo	24.9 mm	No	149.7g/ 2.52 mm	
3. Norweb lot 1232	26.0 mm	No	138.2g/ 2.1 mm	
4. Stack's 9/93 lot 900	26.1 mm	No	161.4g/ 2.5 mm	
5. Rescigno lot 1569	26.1 mm	No	150.6g/ 2.3 mm	

Class II- Overstruck/ non-overstruck, average size NJ planchet (27-29 mm)

1. H. Garrett lot 1322	27.4 mm	No	174.5g/ 2.4 mm	These medium size planchets do not metrologically compare to the small, thick or large, thin Immunis Columbia. This factor however does not change the impression that these two issues are probably struck at the same mint.
2. H. Garrett lot 1323	27.4 mm	Yes-CT	144.9g/ 2.0 mm	
3. Scott Barnes	27.4 mm	No	157.4g/ 2.2 mm	

**Table 3: Comparison chart of Maris 17-b- Cont.**

Class II: Overstruck/ non-overstruck, average size NJ planchet (27-29 mm)- Cont.				
4. Taylor lot 2177	27.5 mm	No	139.2g/ 1.93 mm	
5. Oechsner lot 1254	28.0 mm	No	159.9g/ 2.1 mm	
6. Canfield-NJHS	28.0 mm	No	157.8g/ 2.1 mm	
7. Damon Douglas-ANS	28.2 mm	No	130.6g/ 1.8 mm	
8. Frontenac lot 134	28.5 mm	No	153.0g/2.0 mm	
9. Schenkel, Lorenzo	28.9 mm	No	168.3g/ 2.2 mm	
Class III: Predominantly overstruck on CT's, on large size planchets				
1. Frontenac lot 132	29.0 mm	Yes-CT	135.0g/ 1.7 mm	This entire class involves overstrikes (except Norweb: 1323). These are not representative of the small, thick Immunis Columbia flans, but are similar metrologically to the large, thin Immunis Columbia flans. The four large, thin Immunis Columbia pieces are all overstruck, accounting for their large flans. It is not surprising that the small, thick and large, thin M 17-b have similar characteristics (i.e., compare Class III 17-b values with Table 2 average and range values). A similar planchet stock is very probable.
2. Frontenac lot 133	29.0 mm	Yes-CT	134.9g/ 1.7 mm	
3. Scott Barnes	29.3 mm	Yes-CT	130.2g/ 1.6 mm	
4. Scott Barnes	29.3 mm	Yes-CT	128.9g/ 1.6 mm	
5. Beach-ANS	29.5 mm	Yes-CT	132.1g/ 1.6 mm	

**Class III: Predominantly overstruck on CT's, on large size planchets-Cont.**

6. Beach-ANS	29.5 mm	Yes-CT	134.4g/ 1.66 mm	Overstriking on a Connecticut usually yields a mean weight of approximately 135g. With these double struck specimens one sees a remarkable consistency of planchet width values. It is interesting that a planchet as large as Norweb:1323 for a non-Morristown variety is not overstruck. Possibly, a second look is in order to see if this specimen is indeed not overstruck.
7. Norweb lot 1323	29.5 mm	No	136.1g/ 1.7 mm	
8. Scherr lot 3153	29.5 mm	Yes-CT	125.0g/ 1.5 mm	
9. Beach-ANS	30.0 mm	Yes-CT	130.9g/ 1.56 mm	
10. Breen plate-ANS	31.0 mm	Yes-CT	147.1g/ 1.6 mm	
11. Scherr lot 3155	31.0 mm	Yes-CT	157.8g/ 1.7 mm	
Average Class I	26.0 mm		150.0g/ 2.3 mm	
Average Class II	Not applicable for cross-comparison to 1787 Immunis Columbia			
Average Class III	29.7 mm		135.7g/ 1.63 mm	

**Notes:**

1. The average for Class I does not include the unusual very small, thick 17-b's (i.e., Specimens 1 and 2). The smallest and lightest NJ is in the Anton collection, a M 73-aa O/S on a 4 Spanish Maravedi.
2. Only the small, thick and large, thin overstruck 17-b's are applicable for cross-comparison purposes. That is because these two classes (I and III) are metrologically similar to each applicable 1787 Immunis Columbia type (i.e., small, thick and large, thin overstruck flans).
3. The only major difference between the large, thin M 17-b's and the large, thin Immunis Columbia's is their mean weight (135.7g for the 17-b and 150.5g for the Immunis Columbia). The difference is due to the nature of the host coin; mostly low weight CT's for the 17-b and M 26-S for the Immunis Columbia.

**Table 4: Other Applicable NJ Varieties Similar to the Immunis Columbia**

Variety	Pedigree	Diam. (mm)	Wt/Thickness	Observations
1. M 26-S	Canfield-ANS	28.2 mm	159.1g/ 2.14 mm	This variety serves as the host coin for the large, thin flan 1787 Immunis Columbia. Note how the 26- S flan increases in diameter from 28.2 mm to the average of 30.1 mm. The weights of course remain comparable and the width values decrease. The writer is aware that an in-depth study on the metrological changes on flan spreading due to overstriking would be beneficial. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper.
2. M 38-b M 38-b	Beach-ANS Beach-ANS	27.4 mm 27.2 mm	127.6g/ 1.76 mm 142.7g/ 2.0 mm	As with the small, thick non-overstruck 17-b's, this variety is of the same class metrologically and of course by reverse die sharing. The metrological values are of course similar to the small, thick Immunis Columbia.
3. M 38-c M 38-c	Douglas-ANS Beach-ANS	27.1 mm 28.2 mm	135.0g/ 1.84 mm 152.0g/ 1.96 mm	As with all small, thick flans, the weight values do hover around 145g, near the statutory weight of 150g. Similar flan to the small, thick Immunis Columbia is therefore observed.
4. M 38-a	ANS	27.6 mm	158.0g/ 2.14 mm	Same generalized comment as for #3 above.

**Table 4: Other Applicable NJ Varieties Similar to the Immunis Columbia- cont.**

5.	M 44-c M 44-c	ANS ANS	27.2 mm 27.3 mm	138.6g/ 1.9 mm 140.6g/ 1.9 mm	Small, thick flan with reverse die sharing to 38-c which in turn is obverse linked to 38-b, and in turn is reverse linked to the small, thick 17-b, and by extension to the Immunis Columbia. Same conclusion as #2 above.
6.	M 40-b M 40-b	Beach-ANS Beach-ANS	29.98 mm 29.74 mm	131.7g/ 1.54 mm 120.8g/ 1.44 mm	A large, thin flan similar to the large, thin 17-b. Not linked to either style of the Immunis. However, if the large, thin Immunis population were to be greater than four specimens, it would be tough to argue of not finding a large, thin Immunis overstruck on other NJ varieties than the 26-S.
7.	M 41-c	Beach-ANS	26.8 mm	145.7g/ 2.0 mm	Another small, thick planchet variety. Part of the reverse M a-b-c die sharing group, metrologically linked to the small, thick Immunis type.
8.	M 42-c M 42-c	Beach-ANS Bull-ANS	27.1 mm 28.2 mm	156.2g/ 2.2 mm 146.0g/ 2.02 mm	Small, thick flan with reverse die sharing to M 38-c, which in turn is obverse linked to 38-b and in turn is reverse linked to 17-b and by extension to the small, thick Immunis.

**Notes:**

- Examining the above coins and relating their metrological properties to the small, thick and large, thin Immunis Columbia has proven to be most instructive. The small, thick flans are metrologically similar to the small, thin Immunis and the 26-S host coins, adding to the late Rahway/Elizabethtown attribution. The large, thin 17-b's are of the same mint origin as the 26-S. From the above, the large, thin and small, thick NJ coppers do link very well with both types of Immunis Columbia.
- Actual diameter, weight and thickness measurements performed at the ANS.

**Table 5: Metrological Similarities Between NJ M 17-b and the 1787 Immunis Columbia**

I. Small, thick flans: Comparison of NJ M 17-b (Class I: Small, thick flans) with the 1787 Immunis Columbia Small, thick flans.

Parameter	NJ 17-b Class I	1787 Immunis Columbia	% Difference
A. Diameter	26.0 mm	26.4 mm	1.5
B. Weight	150g	159.7g	6.5
C. Overstruck?	No-only on virgin flan stock	No-only on virgin flan stock	N/A
D. Thickness	2.3 mm	2.46 mm	6.9

II. Large, thin flans: Comparison of NJ M 17-b (Class III: Large, thin flans) with the 1787 Immunis Columbia large, thin flans.

Parameter	NJ 17-b Class III	1787 Immunis Columbia	% Difference
A. Diameter	29.7 mm	30.1 mm	1.3
B. Weight	135.7g	150.5g	10.9
C. Overstruck?	Yes-Usually on low weight "state" coinage	Yes-On NJ undertype, 3 of 4 a NJ M 26-S	N/A
D. Thickness	1.63 mm	1.69 mm	3.6

Notes:

1. Only average values are reported. The % difference are calculated based on these averages.
2. The % difference is calculated as  $D(1)/D(2)$ , where  $D(1)$  = Immunis Columbia value, and  $D(2)$  = NJ M 17-b value.
3. As explained, the only significant difference between these two issues is the different host coins on the large, thin flans.
4. In short, the above results indicate an high likelihood of a similar planchet stock.

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